

The Missionary Movement and the Catholic Revival in Germany before 1848

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The Catholic missionary movement was an integral part of the Catholic revival in the 19th century all over Europe, particularly in France and Germany.¹ For Catholics, being a Catholic meant more and more being a missionary enthusiast, as the missionary Hermann Fischer from the Steyler missionaries wrote in 1906.² The 19th century saw an unprecedented growth of missionary orders and particularly female congregations. This rise of missionary enthusiasm visibly marked Catholic mobilization especially in the decades leading up to the 1848 revolution. Around 1800, the missionary personnel had reached its lowest level. The state of the missions was rather desolate. In general, enlightenment Catholic theology had refocused its energy on the society and the church at home. Endless controversies over Jansenism also furthered the decline of the missions.³

In and after the Napoleonic Years the situation changed dramatically. Wherever the Catholic revival surfaced we find missionary associations and forms of missionary piety. In France, the missionary zeal was particularly enthusiastic. 1800 saw the founding of the *Congregation of the holiest hearts Jesu and Mariae*, which sent the first group of missionaries, the Picpus-fathers, to Oceania. Their name derived from their mother house in the Rue de Picpus in Paris. In 1807 the *Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny* were founded, who started missionary work in Africa and Asia. Since 1816 the *Oblates of Mary Immaculate*, founded by Charles-

¹ Cf. Jacques Gadille/Jean-François Zorn, Der neue Missionseifer, in: id./Jean-Marie Mayeur (Eds.), *Die Geschichte des Christentums*, vol. 11: Liberalismus, Industrialisierung, Expansion Europas (1830–1914), German Edition, ed. Martin Greschat, Freiburg i. Br. 1997, 133–164; Karl-Josef Rivinius, Die Entwicklung der christlichen Mission in der Neuzeit, in: Erwin Gatz (Ed.), *Katholiken in der Minderheit. Diaspora – Ökumenische Bewegung – Missionsgedanke*, Freiburg i. Br. 1994, 215–233; Sebastian Conrad/Rebekka Habermas, Mission und kulturelle Globalisierung. Themenheft *«Geschichte und Gesellschaft»*, 2 (2010), Göttingen 2010; Rebekka Habermas, Wissenstransfer und Mission. Sklavenhändler, Missionare und Religionswissenschaftler, in: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 36 (2010), 257–284. On the Catholic revival see the thought provoking articles of Margaret L. Anderson, Piety and Politics: Recent Work on German Catholicism, in: *Journal of Modern History*, 63 (1991), 681–716; id., The Limits of Secularization: on the Problem of the Catholic Revival in 19th Century Germany, in: *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 647–669.

² Hermann Fischer, *Jesu letzter Wille*, Steyl 1906, 62f.

³ Cf. Rivinius, *Die Entwicklung der christlichen Mission* (see footnote 1), 218.

Joseph-Eugène de Mazenod went to Canada. In the same year the *Society of Mary*, commonly called the Marists, was established, that since 1836 went to missions in Oceania.⁴ The origins of the Marists are rather typical expressions of the fusion of antirevolutionary and missionary energy. The society's founder was Jean-Claude Colin (1790–1875). His father was a pious Catholic farmer in Haut Beaujolais, who refused to comply with the anticlerical politics of the Jacobins. This nearly ruined his family. Jean-Claude Colin entered the minor seminary in the diocese of Lyon in 1804. There, he opposed Napoleon's dictatorship and church policies. The freshly ordained priest founded the *Society of Mary* together with twelve sympathizers in 1816. Until its recognition by Rome, Colin and the other founders were assigned to parishes in poor areas where they spread the missionary idea. Missionary energy had two levels from the very beginning in the post-revolutionary era: missionary outreach abroad in overseas countries and missions at home. At home it meant preaching to the poor and social work.⁵

The following remarks use the missionary movement to analyse the strategies of Catholic mobilization in the early 19th century. In general the ultramontanism of the Catholic Church is referred to as a theological, clerical, papal, Roman development, taking place largely after the 1848 revolution with precursors in the decades before. Its mechanisms were church authority, dogmatization, new forms of piety, and particularly associations. The associational energy was therefore seen as typical for ultramontane Catholicism, moving its social centre of gravity from the upper echelons of society to the bottom. The broadening of the social base of Catholicism was favoured in Germany by the Prussian Constitution of 1849 which gave the church the right to determine its own affairs together with the right to associate. This development was epitomized by the founding of a Catholic political party, the *Zentrumspartei* (Center party), in 1870. In research on the period after the revolution of 1848 the ultramontane mobilization could therefore be conceptualized as political mobilization. Methodologically the religious revival has been for a long time restricted to party building and political mobilization. The *locus classicus* for this interpretation has been Jonathan Sperber's prize winning study *Popular Catholicism in 19th century Prussia*.⁶ Scholars like Karl Rohe explained the rise of the *Zentrumspartei* after 1870 precisely with the associational mobilization since 1848.⁷ The missionary movement before

⁴ Cf. Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, vol. VI/I, Die Kirche zwischen Revolution und Restauration, ed. Roger Aubert et al., Freiburg i. Br. 1985, 232; Léon Deries, Les congrégations religieuses au temps de Napoléon, Paris 1929, 107–119.

⁵ Cf. Donald A. Kerr/Jean-Claude Colin, Marist: A Founder in an Era of Revolution and Restoration: The Early Years, 1790–1836, Blackrock 2000.

⁶ Cf. Jonathan Sperber, Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany, Princeton 1984; id., Competing Counterrevolutions: Prussian State and the Catholic Church in Westphalia during the 1850s, in: Central European History, 19 (1986), 45–62.

⁷ Cf. Karl Rohe, Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland. Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt a.M. 1992, 53. The same argument in: Jochen-Christoph Kaiser, Konfessionelle Verbände im 19. Jahrhundert. Versuch einer Typologie, in: Helmut Baier (Ed.), Kirche in Staat und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert, Neustadt a.d.

1848 stood in contrast to this mainstream in historiography, because it also produced associations, although of a different kind. If we indeed take religious associations as an indicator for religious revivals, the missionary movement before 1848 challenges our conventional periodization. These early associations shed new light on the timing of the Catholic revival.

With the missionary movement we face a pre-1848 form of religious mobilization that was not directly connected to the political mobilization and party-building. Therefore, scholars like Wolfgang Schieder have tried to interpret the Catholic mobilization before 1848 in terms of an antirevolutionary solidarity between church and state. In his seminal article on the Trier pilgrimage of 1844 he suggested that the «clerical-conservative symbiosis» (Sperber) of church and state had a common interest in an antirevolutionary movement from the bottom of society.⁸ How does this antirevolutionary solidarity relate to the missions? How do the religious and the political dimension fit together in the Catholic mobilization before 1848? How are the pre- and the antirevolutionary features of the Catholic revival then connected in early 19th century Catholicism? In social terms: How can these associations be related to the general rise of associations in bourgeois society?

More than anything else «Missions!» were the rallying point and battle cry for the new generation of ultramontane clerics and laity after the French revolution. Many questions come to the mind, only a few of them can be addressed in the following pages: How did the missionary movement become so prominent in ultramontane circles? Why did ultramontanes identify so strongly with the missionary movement? The rise of the missionary movement allows us to trace mobilizations from below and relate them to the mobilization from above. The «Roman factor», so prominent in the ultramontane paradigm, is particularly visible in the missionary movement. How did the Roman factor translate itself into devotion and social action? How did the missionary movement construct the links from the Catholic hierarchy to the masses? More generally: How did it contribute to the reinvention of the Catholic Church after the French Revolution?

Aisch 1992, 187–209; a different position in: Dominik Burkard, 1848 als Geburtsstunde des deutschen Katholizismus? Unzeitgemäße Bemerkungen des «Katholischen Vereinswesens», in: *Saeculum*, 49 (1998), 61–106. The impact of associational life on the history of 19th century Catholicism is spelled out in: Josef Mooser, Das katholische Milieu in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Zum Vereinswesen des Katholizismus, in: Olaf Blaschke/Frank-Michael Kuhlemann (Eds.), *Religion im Kaiserreich. Mentalitäten, Milieus, Krisen*, Gütersloh 1996, 59–92.

⁸ Cf. Wolfgang Schieder, Kirche und Revolution. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trierer Wallfahrt von 1844, in: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 14 (1974), 419–454; English: Church and Revolution: Aspects of the Trier Pilgrimage 1844, in: *Conflict and Stability*, ed. Clive Emsley, London 1979, 65–95. Now in a new edition as: id., *Religion und Revolution. Die Trierer Wallfahrt von 1844*, Köln 1996; Sperber, *Popular Catholicism* (see footnote 6), 124.

The Origins of the Missionary Mobilization

The simultaneity of the first missionary associations and the French Revolution was no coincidence. Their mentality was thoroughly antirevolutionary. Catholic antirevolutionaries rallied around the missionary cause. This was in particular the case among French Catholics, who had directly experienced the revolution, for example in Alsace. In Germany the missionary zeal was later strongest among circles originating from Alsace. Joseph Ludwig Colmar had refused to take the constitutional oath after 1791 and worked illegally in parishes until 1797. In 1802, Napoleon secured his appointment as bishop of Mainz. Colmar was typical for the generation of die-hard antirevolutionaries like the director of the seminary in Mainz and future bishop of Strasbourg Andreas Räss, Bruno Franz Leopold Liebermann, head of the seminary in Mainz, and Nikolaus Weis, the future bishop of Speyer. They all shared their regional origin and the opposition to the constitutional oath in France after 1791, went underground and resurfaced as sworn enemies of the French Revolution and its principles. From the early days of the French Revolution these clerics had been antirevolutionary.⁹ The defining moment for their religious mobilization was the French Revolution's simultaneous attack on the Catholic and the regional identity of Alsatians. Until today, the political culture in Alsace shows the combination of Catholicism and conservatism.¹⁰

The task to come to terms with the French Revolution was not restricted to French Catholics. In general the relations between state and church had to be reorganized in and after the French Revolution. At least two approaches can be discerned in this endeavour: on the one side national or church wide councils, on the other side concordats. Revolutionary France held church councils in 1797 and 1801.¹¹ From the beginning, this conciliaristic strategy was seen sceptically by the Roman papacy – just as in the 15th century around the council of Constance (1414–1418). From the Roman perspective this reform strategy went along with tendencies of separation from Rome or at least from the papacy. Rome therefore favoured the strategy to sign concordates between the Holy See and certain governments, which was the case in 1801. Concordats treated the reform of the church as a juridical problem of church-state relations. As treaty signing partners both were seen on equal footing. This legal construction affirmed the sovereignty of all participants. Rome got its sovereignty reaffirmed by Napoleon. A sovereign church signed a treaty with a sovereign state. The strategy to sign

⁹ Cf. Susan Desan, *Redefining Revolutionary Liberty. The Rhetoric of Religious Revival during the French Revolution*, in: *Journal of Modern History*, 60 (1988), 1–27.

¹⁰ Cf. René Epp, *Le mouvement ultramontain dans l'église en Alsace au XIXème siècle (1802–1820)*, Lille 1975; Alexander Schnütgen, *Das Elsaß und die Erneuerung des katholischen Lebens in Deutschland von 1814 bis 1848*, Straßburg 1913.

¹¹ Cf. Bernard Plongeron, *Am Kreuzungspunkt der Wege eines wiedererwachten Christentums*, in: Gadille/Mayeur (Eds.), *Die Geschichte des Christentums*, vol. 11 (see footnote 1), 456–481, 457–461.

concordats in order to reform the church had a wide ranging impact. The Roman factor was first legally consolidated and could then hold a council which ratified the position of the papacy. A strategy to reform the church through an early council would have had rather different consequences for the Roman factor in 19th century Catholicism.¹²

The implementation of international law as an instrument to regulate church-state affairs had enormous advantages for the papacy. While signing a concordat with the pope Napoleon recognized the primacy of the papacy over other levels of hierarchy within the Catholic Church that had historically been influential, such as the archbishoprics, the arch-abbey, the whole system of a landed church with political influence. These institutions composed together an intermediary level in religion as well as in politics: within the church between the parishes and Rome, within the Holy Roman Empire between localism and the Empire. Until 1803 these archbishops etc. could not be ignored in Germany. In France Napoleon found a centralized system of Gallican Catholicism in which no intermediary institutions had existed under absolutism. For Napoleon it was thereby not only politically, but also historically plausible to affirm the sovereignty of the Roman factor. The Gallican style of direct relations between the state and the pope was indirectly introduced as a role model to Germany, when in 1803 hundreds of bishoprics were dissolved. The Roman factor was indeed strengthened, not weakened by the French Revolution and Napoleon. What could have meant a loss for the church, since it lost its temporal powers in many German bishoprics, resulted in a dramatic increase of Roman influence. After the dissolution of the intermediary church level in the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 25 February 1803, Rome for the first time in modern history could rule directly and had immediate influence on the Catholic masses in Europe. The ambivalence of this process was, of course, that this did not at all change Rome's attitude vis-à-vis the French Revolution: The Roman factor was thoroughly antirevolutionary.

The missionary enthusiasm reflected the antirevolutionary stand of the Catholic Church. It conceptualized the Catholic reform as a problem of territorial inclusion and exclusion and of spatial extension of the church. The overseas missions were seen as new territories to be included. The Catholic Church should grow in its spatial dimension. No theological and liturgical reform was implemented following a general council. This territorial expansion of the Catholic Church beyond Europe was an answer to the political concept of the nation that was limiting political loyalty to co-nationals. The message was: no nation can set limits to the Catholic Church.

The French Revolution had strengthened the concept of the modern nation and had transformed France into a nation. Antirevolutionary French Catholics countered this tendency with an awakened missionary commitment to the christianization of the world. This decidedly anti-national strategy affirmed the role of the

¹² Cf. Jacques Gadille, Politische Freiheiten – Soziale Frage, in: id./Mayeur (Eds.), Die Geschichte des Christentums, vol. 11 (see footnote 1), 10–39, 10–14.

Catholic Church that was not part of a nation. Joseph de Maistre – «plus royalist que le roi, plus catholique que le Pape» – saw the answer to the revolutionary upheaval in an absolute subordination under the pope. He focused on the pope's sovereignty as the sole and only foundation of the church's role. His sovereignty stood high above that of other subordinate levels. Catholic solidarity should be stronger than national loyalty. In the third book of *Du Pape* he saw missions as the work of the pope and his servants. Missionary activity was a characteristic of the Roman papacy. De Maistre and others – most prominently among them Chateaubriand – did not identify with the pure and simple counterrevolution. «Nous ne voulons pas la contre-révolution [une révolution contraire] mais le contraire de la révolution.»¹³ Instead of taking sides with the political counter-revolution he stayed antirevolutionary in advocating a model that did not simply oppose the modern nation on the basis of the Ancien Régime, but rather transcended the nation and the state.

Antirevolutionary French Catholics interpreted the revolution as a godly trial of the Ancien Régime. «Sans doute, la Providence n'a pas besoin de punir dans le temps pour justifier ses voies; mais, à cette époque, elle se met à notre portée et punit comme un tribunal humain.»¹⁴ The Catholic missionary movement thought to have God on its side, not the Austrian and Prussian armies. Catholics should not divide their loyalty to the different nation states. The missionary movement propagated a level of commitment that went beyond national loyalties. From this perspective opposing the revolution could not mean the restoration of the Ancien Régime. For de Maistre and the early Felicité de Lamennais political order and sovereignty could only derive from the papacy. The German ultramontane periodical *Katholik* introduced in 1823 its readers to parts of de Maistre's *Du pape*: «The time will come, when the popes, which have been written about most frequently, as Gregory VII., will be recognized as friends, protectors and rescuers of the human race, as the true founders of Europe's unity.»¹⁵

What made the missionary movement so characteristic for the Catholic revival in the first half of the 19th century was its mobilization from below. Although missions had always been a project of the Roman curia and the papacy, the anti-revolutionary motivation broadened the religious appeal of the missions substantially. French lay Catholics were the first missionary activists. They came often from Lyon and had an awakened background. On 3 May 1822 Marie-Pauline Jaricot, daughter of a local silk magnate, founded together with other Lyon silk factory owners and with Roman approval the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la foi*. Already in 1818 they had established a local branch of the *Propagation de la foi*, an association created by the *Société des Missions étrangères* encouraging support for its missions. Their aim was to propagate and finance overseas missionary activities. The influence of the silk industry on the establishment of the mis-

¹³ Joseph de Maistre, *Une politique expérimentale*, ed. Bernard de Vaulx, Paris 1940.

¹⁴ Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations sur la France*, in: *Oeuvres*, 4 vols., Paris 1851/52, vol. 1, 66.

¹⁵ *Katholik*, vol. 8, 1823, 304–315, 308 (review of the German translation of de Maistres *Du Pape*, transl. by Albert von Haza, Naumburg 1822; quote in the original translation by Haza, 55).

sionary movement in a city as far from the sea as Lyon was no coincidence. As the city's major industry, silk factories confronted problems in securing raw materials and of reliable markets. The «municipal imperialism» of the Lyon Chamber of Commerce and its missionary enthusiasm went hand in hand.¹⁶ This did not alter the mobilization from below, it rather strengthened it. Alexis de Tocqueville, an astute observer of French society, wrote: «The pope is more driven by his faithful, to be the absolute master of his church, than he urges them, to subordinate to his reign.»¹⁷

Pauline Jaricot implemented a finance system that made every single member pay a very modest sum (one sou = five centimes). Members were organized in groups of ten (one decade), hundred (one centurio = 10 decades) and thousand (10 centurios). Poor members could pay less or even nothing. Before the 1848 revolution the Lyon association got more than a million francs per year. This sum was adding up of millions of individual members of the missionary movement.¹⁸ In the year 1846 alone, 435 dioceses and 11 apostolic prefectures sent their alms to Lyon. Between 1826 and 1846 these revenues went up from 22'195 fr. to 3'575'775 fr. In these 20 years, the Lyon association spent 16 million francs for the overseas missions.¹⁹ Although different in their financial contribution every member had the same pious obligation: one prayer every day for the mission and its saints.²⁰

This mobilization from below was matched by a mobilization from above: The congregation *Propaganda fide*, founded in 1622, was the Roman factor built into the early missionary movement. The *Propaganda fide* oversaw the missionary activities of the church. The remaining links to the colonial powers Spain and Portugal were cut. Thereby the Roman hierarchy achieved a much higher degree of autonomy in ecclesiastical affairs. As was the case with piety, theology and personnel recruitment, the missionary activities showed a growing influence of the hierarchical moment within Catholicism. The new churches and Catholics in the overseas missions were particularly loyal to Rome. And at home in Europe,

¹⁶ Cf. John F. Laffey, *Roots of French Imperialism in the 19th Century: The Case of Lyon*, in: *French Historical Studies*, 6 (1969), 78–92, 78–80; id., *French Imperialism and the Lyon Mission in China*, unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, Cornell University 1966. More generally: Jean-Claude Baumont, *La renaissance de l'idée missionnaire en France au début du XIXe siècle*, in: *Les réveils missionnaires en France du Moyen Age à nos jours (XIIe–XXe siècle)*, Actes du Colloque de la S.H.E.F. et de la S.H.P.F., Paris 1984.

¹⁷ Quote: Marco Jorio, *Zwischen Rückzug und Integration. Die Katholisch-Konservativen und der junge Bundesstaat*, in: Brigitte Studer (Ed.), *Etappen des Bundesstaats. Staats- und Nationsbildung der Schweiz, 1848–1898*, Zürich 1998, 89–107, 107.

¹⁸ Cf. Marie-Andrée Sadrain, *Les Premières Années de la Propagation de la Foi (1820–1830)*, in: *Revue d'histoire des missions*, 16 (1939), 321–348, 554–579.

¹⁹ Cf. Yannick Essertel, *L'Aventure missionnaire Lyonnaise 1815–1962. De Pauline Jaricot à Jules Monchanin*, Paris 2001, 28.

²⁰ Cf. Jean-François Zorn, 1822: *L'année de la mission*, in: *Histoire religieuse – Histoire globale – histoire ouverte*, ed. Jean-Dominique Durand/Régis Ladous, *Festschrift für Jacques Gadille*, Paris 1992, 221–235; Jean Guennou, *Les missions étrangères*, Paris 1963.

the national churches in France and Germany were no longer in a position to ignore the Roman factor. Instead, Rome became the source of strength against the domestic bureaucracies, which tried to subordinate the church to the state (*Staatskirchentum*). With the help of the papacy the local bishops resisted this subordination.

The antirevolutionary commitment of the missionary zealots had even an anti-national component, which was at least visible in France and in Germany. When the Alsatian Andreas Räss, then director of the seminary in Mainz, invited Catholics in 1828 to join the Lyon missionary association he warned of national envy and separatism. Between 1823 and 1846 the Lyon association established local chapters in Savoy, Sardinia, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the British Islands, Spain, Portugal, and Prussia. The antagonism between mission and nation became clearer and clearer after the 1848 revolution, when nationalism became a political force to reckon with. The missionary activist Heinrich lamented in 1857: «The growing national sentiment has – alas! – been very detrimental to the Catholic church.»²¹ The international appeal of the missionary movement was underscored by its press. From early on, it relied on modern mechanisms to broaden its territorial and social base. The *Annales de la propagation de la foi* began to appear in 1822 under the title *Nouvelles reçues des missions*. After 1825, the *Annales* were printed first four times, later six times per year. In 1845, they reached a circulation of 150'000 copies in nine languages.

The missionary movement from below was represented by the headquarters of the *Association de la propagation de la foi* in Lyon. Until 1922, Lyon was the center of missionary lay activities. It built a vast net of missionary associations across Europe. Rome had the jurisdictional and the spiritual authority over the missions overseas. The lay activity thereby broadened the base for the Roman leadership. The church authorities in Rome secured the missionary monopoly for Lyon. Pope Gregory XVI., former head of the *Propaganda fide*, issued a decree reserving the right to collect alms for the Lyon association.²²

The missionary movement claimed to represent the very origins of Christianity. Over and over the missionary zealots conveyed a sense of historical authenticity. Missions stood at the beginning of Christianity. This appeal to the missionary energies of early Christianity characterized the Catholic as well as the Protestant missions. Missions were on the one side a common denominator for the conservatives in both churches.²³ On the other side the appeal to the missionary

²¹ *Katholik*, vol. 32, 1829, 1–25, 14f. (Andreas Räss); Heinrich Hahn, *Der Xaveriusverein zur Verbreitung des Glaubens und seine Wirksamkeit in Deutschland, beleuchtet vom Verwaltungsrat des Xaveriusvereins in der Erzdiözese Köln*, Strasbourg 1857, 17.

²² Cf. Robert S. Maloney, *Mission Directives of Pope Gregory XVI. (1831–1846). A Contribution to the History of the Catholic Mission Revival in the 19th Century*, Rom 1959; Joseph Schmidlin, *Gregor XVI. als Missionspapst 1831–1846*, in: *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 21 (1931), 209–227.

²³ Cf. Klauspeter Blaser, *Mission*, in: Pierre Gisel/Lucie Kaennel (Eds.), *Encyclopédie du protestantisme*, Paris 1995, 977–992. Before 1837, the mission at home was an interconfessional tradition of the missionary Boniface. (Cf. Siegfried Weichlein, *Der Apostel der Deutschen. Die konfessionspolitische Konstruktion des Bonifatius im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: Olaf Blaschke (Ed.), *Konfessionen im*

origins of Christianity led to a strong anti-Protestant polemic. The Catholic missionary movement was not only antirevolutionary, but also directed against the gigantic Protestant *Société biblique*. In general it conveyed a sense of religious polemic. In 1824, the French pastor Pache from Lyon wrote about the key aims of the *Association de la Propagation de la foi*:

«Dans le but spécial de contre-déterminer les effets de la gigantesque Société biblique qui, animée par l'esprit du siècle, ne sème que l'erreur et la corruption. [...] Cette œuvre pour faire le bien a calqué son plan et son organisation sur celui de la Société biblique pour faire le mal.»²⁴

Missionary enthusiasm thereby also led to a sharpening of religious conflict in the 19th century.²⁵ The redefinition of Catholicism in the 19th century was to a large extent based on a sharpened religious conflict. From its very beginning, the missionary movement saw its task abroad and at home.

The Missionary Associations

Organizations distributed the missionary idea into nearly every European country within two decades. By the early 1840s, the *Association pour la propagation de la foi* had chapters in every major European country. Distribution did not mean transmission or translation. The Lyon headquarters eagerly sought to avoid communication between the chapters. They instead communicated with each other through contact with Lyon. The Lyon association was therefore a precursor of the Roman ecclesiastical model that was implemented throughout the 19th century. Catholic parishes and dioceses were supposed to work together not directly, but rather indirectly through the common subordination to the Roman factor. National bishop conferences were therefore suspiciously watched over by the Roman curia. The ultramontane vertical orientation toward Rome set limits to the distribution and effectiveness of the horizontal growth of associations. Associations and the Roman factor were often at odds, particularly in Germany after 1900 and after World War I. Associations were welcome as long as they stood in line with Rome and buttressed the loyalty to the papacy.

World Mission: The Lyon missionary press was a perfect example for this mechanism. It was edited in Lyon and then translated into various languages. The individual chapters did not edit their own missionary journals. They secured

Konflikt. Deutschland zwischen 1800 und 1970: ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter, Göttingen 2002, 155–179.)

²⁴ Alice Wemyss, *Histoire du réveil 1790–1849*, Paris 1977, 121, quoted in: Zorn, 1822: *L'année de la mission* (see footnote 20), 227.

²⁵ Religious conflict was later a crucial component of German nationalism. (Cf. Helmut W. Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict. Culture, Ideology, Politics 1870–1914*, Princeton 1995; Wolfgang Altgeld, *Katholizismus, Protestantismus, Judentum. Über religiös begründete Gegensätze und nationalreligiöse Ideen in der Geschichte des deutschen Nationalismus*, Mainz 1992.)

the publishing and the translation of the *Annales*, but not the content itself. The *Annales de la propagation de la foi* thereby represented a one-way communication between the missionary headquarters in Lyon and the local chapters.²⁶

The missionary associations not only symbolically represented this new model of community in the Catholic Church, they also constructed it. More important than the almsgiving were the prayers. Everybody was included in the prayers. Every member of a missionary association had the obligation to say the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria* daily and to add «Saint Franz Xaver, pray for us». The construction of a spiritual community had the highest priority among the missionary associations. The same held true for the indulgences for the deceased members of the church. The missionary movement integrated them into the Catholic missionary community through indulgences and practices of memory on missionary holidays. These were celebrated on 3 May, the founding day of the Lyon association, and on 3 December, the Saints Day of Franz Xaver, the patron saint of the German branch of the Lyon association. On both days the members received indulgences. The missionary movement thereby provided means to communicate with the deceased family members. Missionary indulgences connected the supra-generational with the supra-national community of the church. Traditionally, the religious *memoria* had been the place and the time in the Catholic liturgy for the commemoration of the dead.²⁷ This tradition was still upheld within the Catholic brotherhoods. Brotherhoods were social and religious formations. As social formations they were superseded by Catholic associations. As religious formations they had their functional equivalent among others in the religious practice of indulgences. Because missionary associations offered integration of the dead family members into the spiritual community, associational membership was attractive. In his missionary pastoral letter bishop Drepper from Paderborn wrote in 1845: «In many places examples could be found of poor servants sharing together the annual fee and enrolling as one single person in a missionary association.»²⁸ Tradition had a social meaning, because it incorporated the dead into a living community. Gilbert Chesterton succinctly put the impact of tradition for present community building like this: «Tradition [...] is the democracy of the dead. Tradition refuses to submit to the small and arrogant oligarchy of those, who merely happen to be walking about.»²⁹

²⁶ Cf. Annalen der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung des Glaubens. In einem gedrängten Auszuge deutsch mitgeteilt, Einsiedeln 1832ff.; Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens. Eine mit Erlaubnis geistlicher Obrigkeit durch den Ludwigs-Missionsverein hg. Periodische Sammlung von Erlassen des Hl. Stuhles, dann der hochwürdigsten Ordinarien, sowie von Urkunden und Nachrichten, welche auf das Werk der Glaubensverbreitung Bezug nehmen, München, Verlag der Zentralkirection des Ludwigsmisionsvereins, 1838ff.; Martyrer der katholischen Kirche in der neuesten Zeit. Aus den Annalen der Verbreitung des Glaubens gezogen und hg. von einem Priester in Vorarlberg, Innsbruck 1845.

²⁷ Cf. Peter Löffler, Studien zum Totenbrauchtum in den Gilden, Bruderschaften und Nachbarschaften Westfalens vom Ende des 15. bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, Münster 1975.

²⁸ Pastoral letter of the Paderborn bishop Drepper from 11.11.1845, in: Sonntagsblatt für katholische Christen, 5 (1846), 28ff., 28.

²⁹ Cf. Gilbert Chesterton, Orthodoxy. The Romance of Faith, New York ²1990 (1st Ed. 1908), 48.

The Lyon example of a single <world mission> regardless of one nationality was established in northern Germany and in Prussia. The Lyon association had strong local chapters in Aachen where Heinrich Hahn founded the *Franziskus-Xaverius-Missionsverein* in 1837. Hahn was a lay activist with strong ties to the Aachen bourgeoisie. As a «civic lay apostle» («bürgerlicher Laienapostel»³⁰) he stood for the missionary awakened lay mobilization in German Catholicism before 1848. Munster and Breslau also had strong missionary associations belonging to the Lyon system.³¹

Mission for co-national migrants abroad: In the 1830 and 1840s, the missionary movement disintegrated into at least three types of associations. In addition to the overseas world mission of the Lyon association, the 1830s saw another type of missionary association: the mission for German immigrants in the United States. Here, the spiritual community building worked less in a universal, than in a national way. The Bavarian *Ludwigsmissionsverein* as well as the Austrian *Leopoldinenstiftung* were intended to finance the parishes and the spiritual welfare of the Germans in the United States.³² At home both associations underpinned the leading role of the Catholic monarchies in Munich and Vienna in German national politics. In caring for the spiritual needs of Germans abroad, Munich and Vienna tried to claim a national role in Germany. Around 1840, the Bavarian monarchy was particularly eager to prove its national role. Munich established an independent Bavarian missionary association and cut its ties to Lyon in 1841 after the Franco-German Rhine crisis. French missionary associations were held in contempt of using the German missionary alms for French political purposes. In Bavaria the monarchy and the state were largely in charge of the Catholic Church. In Munich church officials under the influence of King

³⁰ Franz Bäumker, Dr. Med. Heinrich Hahn. Ein Apostel im Laienkleide, Aachen 1930, 325–631, quote in: Jürgen Herres, Städtische Gesellschaft und katholische Vereine im Rheinland, 1840–1870, Essen 1996, 157.

³¹ Cf. Konrad Simons, Heinrich Hahn. Ein Mann macht Missionsgeschichte (1800–1882), Aachen 1983; Hahn, Der Xaveriusverein (see footnote 21); Peter Josef Louis, Der Xaveriusverein in alter und neuer Zeit, in: id., Eunt docete. Predigten, Vorträge und Reden über das Werk der Glaubensverbreitung, Aachen 1918, 13–16.

³² For the following cf. Willibald Mathäser, Der Ludwigsmissionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwigs I. von Bayern. Festschrift zur ersten Jahrhundertfeier des bayerischen Missionswerkes, München 1939; id., König Ludwig I. von Bayern als Förderer des Deutschtums und des Katholizismus in Nordamerika, Gelbe Hefte, München 1925; Paul Kagerer, Die Wirksamkeit des Ludwig-Missionsvereins in Bayern, München 1889; id., The Ludwigsmissionsverein, in: Historical Records and Studies, 9 (1916), 203–216; Johann Neuhäusler, Der Ludwig-Missionsverein in Bayern. Einiges aus seinen ältesten und jüngsten Tagen, in: Die katholischen Missionen, 49 (1920/21), 243–247; Johannes Thaurer, Ein Gnadenstrom zur Neuen Welt und seine Quelle. Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung zur Unterstützung der amerikanischen Missionen, Wien 1940; Gertrude Kummer, Die Leopoldinen-Stiftung (1829–1914). Der älteste österreichische Missionsverein, Wien 1966; Theodore Roemer, The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829–1839), New York 1933; id., The Ludwigs-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States, 1838–1918, New York 1933.

Ludwig II combined the national mission of the Bavarian monarchy with the general mission of the Catholic Church, a combination that proved difficult to sell to ordinary Catholics.

The Roman hierarchy refused to extend the spiritual benefits, the indulgences, of the Lyon association to the new Bavarian mission. Gregory XVI kept the monopoly of the Lyon association in missionary affairs. The example of the *Ludwigsmiissionsverein* made obvious the difference between the overseas world mission and the national mission. In the confrontation of both concepts Rome successfully reaffirmed her monopoly to define ecclesiastical as well as missionary affairs. Catholic monarchies could not successfully break the coalition of a lay mobilization from below and the Roman hierarchy. They could not offer what Rome could in the ultramontane religious paradigm: a spiritual community beyond a single life time.

Bavarian laymen refused to transfer their loyalty from the missionary to the national cause of the Bavarian monarchy. The state-influenced new type of missionary associations tore apart what had been closely connected within the world missionary devotion of Lyon: almsgiving and indulgences. The Bavarian form of mission relied solely on almsgiving without any form of spiritual community building. Church and state officials trusted in the «natural» Catholic identity of the Bavarian population that would follow its authorities. But this political argument could not be sold to Bavarian Catholics. They rather saw the Bavarian *Ludwigsmiissionsverein* – the reigning king's name was Ludwig I – as a new institution of the bureaucratic state. They left the missionary association or refused to give alms altogether. The situation got worse and King Ludwig I was forced to reunite the Bavarian missionary association with that in Lyon.

The social plausibility of a spiritual community with the deceased family members was patently clear in those cases where missionary associations refused to offer indulgences. When the Bavarian missionary association *Ludwigsmiissionsverein* severed its ties with Lyon, it lost the spiritual rewards for the alms giving of its members. Membership declined until the Bavarian association was brought back into the Lyon system. The members of the Bavarian missionary association even refused to give voluntarily their mission alms. Because the state took over the missionary activity, they saw in the request for almsgiving nothing else than a thinly disguised form of taxation by the state, which they refused to pay. Instead, an indirect combination within a rational system of state run missions, the connection between almsgiving and direct spiritual awards, was socially plausible.³³

Diaspora Mission: Already the Lyon association and the Bavarian *Ludwigsmiissionsverein* had propagated another form of missionary activity: the mission at home or diaspora mission. Lyon had already financed the Nordic Missions which were in charge of the Catholics in northern Germany, Scandinavia, and the Baltic Sea. In the 1840s, this concept of a mission at home was driven by a

³³ Cf. Mathäser, *Der Ludwigsmiissionsverein* (see footnote 32), 103.

new sense of religious polemics. Mission now turned from a strategy of christianizing pagans into Catholicizing Protestants, which meant, that Protestants were implicitly treated as pagans. The defining moment for the Diaspora mission was the revolution of 1848. Ultramontane Catholics tried to fight the «revolutionary bacillus» with a reaffirmation of Catholic identity. Missionary activity was seen as the only trustworthy panacea against the revolution. To counter the revolutionary threat meant to make Germany Catholic or at least to reaffirm Catholics in their religious identity. Religious identity as a remedy for all revolutionary ills had been a top seller also among conservative Protestants. Conservative Lutherans founded the *Gustav-Adolph-Stiftung* in 1832 and in 1841 the *Protestant Association for the support of Protestant parishes in need*. Both missionary associations joined in 1842 and formed the *Protestant association of the Gustavus-Adolphus-foundation*, from 1844 on under the patronage of the Prussian king Frederick William IV.³⁴

This association served as a role model, when Catholic conservatives founded the *Bonifatiusverein* for the Diaspora mission in Germany in October 1849 at the third convention of Catholic associations in Regensburg. This new association was an immediate answer to the revolution of 1848. The ultramontanes saw the events of 1848 as the ultimate proof that revolution was a characteristic of the entire era and that it would not subside with political repression. Mission in the diaspora at home was an antirevolutionary answer against liberalism as well as against the Prussian bureaucracy which was seen as working in favor of liberalism and its Protestant allies.³⁵

The Missionary Movement and the Ultramontanization of Catholicism

The missionary movement was a result and at the same time an active factor in the ultramontanization of the Catholic Church in the 19th century. It showed a strong lay mobilization from below as well as a Roman mobilization from above. This coalition of the Roman factor and a lay movement was characteristic for ultramontane Catholicism. It established a central church leadership on a mass basis and can best be described in dialectical observations.

³⁴ Cf. Peter Schellenberg, Artikel «Gustav-Adolph-Verein», in: *Theologische Real-Enzyklopädie*, vol. 8 (1981), 719–726.

³⁵ Cf. Anton Jgnaz Kleffner/Friedrich Wilhelm Woker, *Der Bonifatiusverein. Seine Geschichte, seine Arbeit und sein Arbeitsfeld 1849–1899*, Paderborn 1899. For the history of devotion of St. Boniface and the diaspora mission cf.: Siegfried Weichlein, *Die Bonifatiustradition im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Bonifatius. Vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, Katalog zur Ausstellung, ed. Vonderau Museum, Fulda 2004, 67–82; id., *Bonifatius als politischer Heiliger im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, in: Michael Imhof/Gregor K. Stasch (Eds.), *Bonifatius. Vom angelsächsischen Missionar zum Apostel der Deutschen*, Fulda 2004, 219–234.

1. The missionary movement universalized the mission over the whole world and, at the same time, nationalized the commitment to the world mission through national chapters of the Lyon association. The impact of the missionary movement for German Catholics was that German Catholics in the age of the nation state could be good Germans and good Catholics at the same time.

2. The Missionary movement centralized the missionary authorities in Lyon and Rome and was expanded into every European country.

3. Finally, it established clerical leadership and strengthened lay participation. The missionary movement conveyed successfully the image and practice of a new centralized church.

The mutual reassurance and stabilization of these antagonisms in the new concept of a universalized, centralized church under clerical leadership defined itself particularly through enemies. The polemical self-understanding of ultramontane Catholicism went at least through three phases with different enemies:

1. Firstly the missionary movement was an answer to the French Revolution. The French Revolution was seen as disorder. The missionary activists countered this disorder by a concept of universalistic order. Missionary activity should make the whole world Christian and establish a worldwide order directed against the revolutionary movement. It was not primarily confined to the Catholic Church, but found also adherents among the Protestant churches. The early Protestant missionary movement echoed the same tendencies.

2. As a universalistic order the world mission was directed against the new model of the nation state that was part of the political agenda since the French Revolution. The Roman hierarchy successfully defended the mutual identity of Catholicism and universalism. It kept the monopoly over universalism within the Catholic Church and countered all attempts to reconcile Catholic and national identities (Gallicanism, Febronianism) even within the missionary movement (Bavaria).

3. New missionary initiatives shortly before and after the revolution of 1848 were directed against Protestant liberalism. Now Protestantism was identified as the enemy. On the one side the *Bonifatiusverein* was meant to re-christianize Germany that was seen by ultramontane Conservatives as de-christianized. On the other side it communicated a Catholic version of Germany against Protestant nationalism, without becoming a national Catholic tradition itself.